

# IRISH MONTHLY

JULY 1948

COMMENTARY : THE REASONS FOR THE LINK

EDUCATION FOR WORKERS Francis J. Corley

THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES OF ST.

IGNATIUS J. E. Canavan

FROM COMINTERN TO COMINFORM

Anthony Croaty

SCIENCE AND VISION—II

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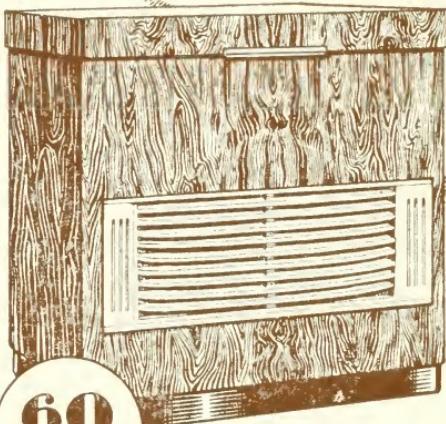
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# THE IRISH MONTHLY

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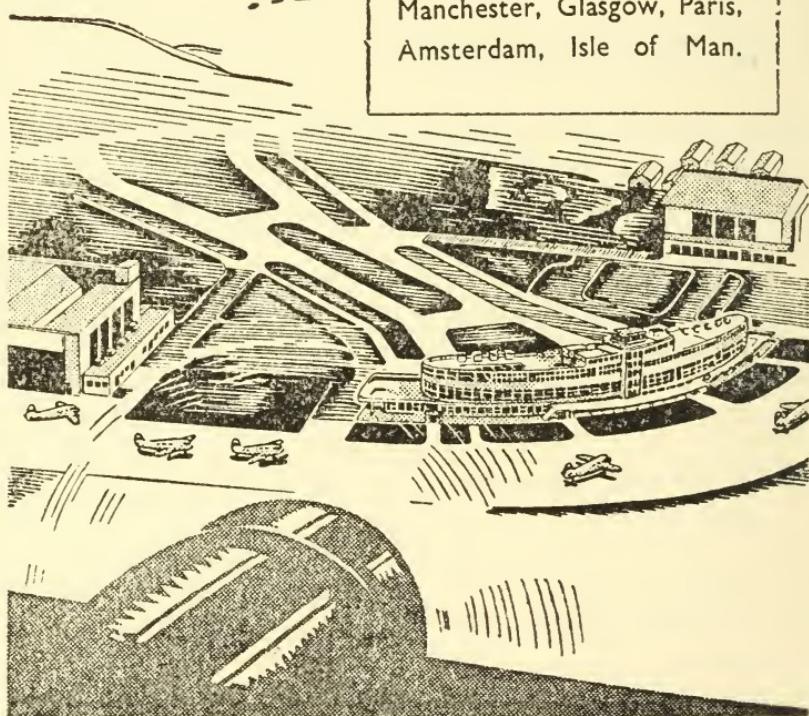
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# AER LINGUS

## THE REASONS FOR THE LINK

THE case made for the "link with sterling" by the 1938 Banking Commission falls into six divisions. There are, so the Report states, three broad objectives or aims of monetary policy with the realisation of which "the interests of this country are bound up": and there are three more particular grounds why Ireland should maintain the "link with sterling".

The three main objectives are: (i) exchange stability in general; (ii) the establishment of sound credit conditions; and (iii) the maintenance of a relatively stable price structure.

The three particular applications to Irish conditions are: (iv) exchange stability with the British market; (v) a credit policy eminently suited to meet Irish present (1938) needs; and (vi) the link possesses the confidence of the Irish public, and any suggestion for relaxation of it would meet with wide distrust.

There can be no doubt but that these reasons are extremely strong. But it is well to note that they are not reasons for a *statutory* link forged by law such as we have at present. These aims could be equally well attained by a currency which was not statutorily linked to sterling, but was "managed" by the proper financial authorities, the Minister of Finance or the Central Bank, consciously and deliberately with a view to attaining them. It can hardly be said that either England or the U.S.A. does not desire these general benefits: but neither of these countries is *statutorily* linked even to gold—the British Treasury and the U.S.A. President are, ultimately, the "managers" of the respective currencies.

The first reason, then, given to justify the "link with sterling" is, in the words of the Ottawa Conference of 1932 (quoted by the Banking Commission 1938, § 203), "the great importance to traders of stability of exchange rates over as wide an area as possible". Briefly, the first reason is "the advantages of *exchange stability*".

Three questions must now be asked: (a) Is *exchange stability* in itself a desirable thing, or is it desirable for Ireland; (b) Is a rigid statutory link with sterling necessary to secure this *exchange stability*, if it is desirable at all? (c) Did it really achieve it?

To the second question the answer is undoubtedly "No". Exchange stability can be, and has been, and is being secured by other

countries without any such statutory link existing. The Minister of Finance or the Central Bank is quite as well able to maintain exchange stability without a statutory link as with it. And to do so without the statutory link is, it might be suggested, more in conformity with the national dignity and, in a sense, independence of a country. England to-day maintains exchange stability with the U.S.A., but its Treasury is not statutorily bound to do so, much less is the English pound statutorily linked to the dollar.

To the first question, is exchange stability desirable, the answer is, also, "No", but it is an answer that needs qualification and distinction and, ultimately, is a matter of opinion and sound judgment. For the moment a series of quotations from an acknowledged expert, writing in an unbiased and scientific mood, must suffice to justify the above statement.

"The stability of the exchanges which it (the Gold Standard) induces is, therefore, not natural but man-made and man-maintained. We need not, however, for our present purposes, argue the vexed question whether stability or fluctuation of the exchanges is more normal or more desirable; it is sufficient to point to the historical fact that periods of stability have been the rare exception rather than the constant rule. Nevertheless, the majority of those interested in monetary affairs formed their ideas on the subject during the longest of the rare exceptional periods when the stability of the exchanges, except in the case of a number of monetary pariahs, was the general rule and there is consequently a tendency to regard instability as an unnatural and alarming state of affairs" (Geoffrey Crowther: *An Outline of Money*, p. 240).

"It does not, however, necessarily follow that stability of the exchanges is the thing to be aimed at, for it may be, as we shall see, that it has disadvantages for purely domestic trade at least as great as its advantages for international trade" (*Ibid.* p. 312-313).

"There was no stage in the historical development of the gold standard, as it existed before 1914, at which a conscious decision was made to aim at stability of the exchanges. On the contrary, until the outbreak of the last war, the advisability of stable exchange rates was never questioned. Stability had been the normal state for more than a century, and of the known cases of instability every one was associated with war, revolution or financial calamity. The realisation that there may perhaps be good reasons for eschewing exchange

stability is almost entirely a growth of the last twenty years " (Ibid. p. 335).

It is clear from these quotations that exchange stability is not something that is always and everywhere desirable. The particular circumstances of a country must be taken into account. If the external trade of a country and its international financial activities are considered of very great importance, then exchange stability will be pursued as a policy. But if the domestic internal economy is held to be of more importance, then, not instability, but flexibility of exchange will be the aim. There is no question of rushing from one extreme to another: from our present completely rigid stability with sterling to a wild hour-to-hour fluctuation. The alternative is an intelligent and prudent management of the currency, freed from any statutory obligation to maintain either parity of £1 per Irish pound or rigid stability.

The third question hardly needs an answer. Apart from stability with sterling (which, of course, was secured by law), the link with sterling instead of producing exchange stability has dragged the Irish pound into a wild Dervish dance of instability. Since 1927, when the link with sterling was forged, there has hardly been a single currency (except sterling) with which the Irish pound maintained stability. America, Australia, New Zealand, France, Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland—not a single one remained stable in relation to the Irish pound, because they did not remain stable in relation to sterling. The Irish pound was lashed to sterling as a man might be lashed to a swinging pendulum, and so it remained stable relatively to sterling, but to nothing else. That is the fact. But the question arises whether the advantages of remaining stable in relation to sterling did not, and do not, out-weigh the disadvantages both of having to share in sterling's instability, and of having to subordinate domestic policy to external trade. To sum up, the statutory link with sterling is (a) not necessary to secure exchange stability; (b) in actual fact, it was not effective and did not secure exchange stability; (c) it is open to dispute whether rigid exchange stability even with sterling (which was secured) is in the interest of Ireland at all.

The second reason given in support of the link with sterling is that it facilitates the establishment of sound credit conditions. These are defined as such as "will meet the needs of healthy growth and development without encouraging speculative abuses".

Once again it is necessary to ask whether the rigid statutory link with sterling is in any way necessary to secure such conditions, and once again it must be argued that it is not necessary nor indeed very useful for this purpose. Sound credit conditions can be secured by a variety of other more direct and more effective means. Moreover, it must be confessed that the link with sterling has not, in fact, secured these conditions. On the contrary, it has made quite certain that Ireland would have to share in any unhealthy inflation of credit which took place in England. The Report of the Central Bank of Ireland for the year ended 31st March 1947 is the only testimony that need be quoted. "The general impression created by the available information is that the tendency towards an unhealthy inflation, against which the Board has given warning in previous reports, has in recent times shown marked evidence of becoming worse and consequently now demands vigorous measures to check it. The volume of money and the spending power of the public are expanding out of proportion to the supplies of goods and especially to production for export on a sound permanent basis. . . . It is mainly in the spheres of the wage and price level and in that of the volume of State expenditure that the greatest scope for combating inflation appears now to be presented.

"The cost-of-living index has advanced since pre-war to an appreciably higher extent in this country than in the chief countries with which we have external trade relations either by direct dealing or by competition". (p. 9 § 19).

Since this was written conditions have become steadily worse: the Labour Court and various Joint Labour Committees have barely got into their stride as regards wages, and various capital expenditure for housing and hospitals and the like is still mounting, while there was a record "adverse" balance of trade in 1947. There is some justification for asking whether the link with sterling is not only failing to secure sound credit conditions, but actually contributing to unsound ones.

The third reason for the link was its assistance in maintaining a relatively stable price structure. The link was forged in 1927. Since that date there has been such an unstable price structure as has rarely been seen in the history of the country. If one takes either the cost-of-living figure or the Agricultural Prices index or the import and export index, this is clearly seen. The cost-of-living figure began in 1927 at 182 (July 1914=100), by 1931 it was 164, in 1933, 151. Then

it rose in 1936 to 159, in 1938 to 173, and, of course, during the war soared, ending up in August 1947 at 313. The agricultural price index began in 1927 at 132, was 139 in 1929, but 83 in 1935, 112 in 1938 and went to 184 during the war. The import index in 1927 was 92, the export 95. They were, respectively, 77 and 61 in 1934, 92 and 75 in 1937, and 198.7 and 181.6 in 1945. There can be no talk of a relatively stable price structure in the 20 years during which the link has operated: in peace or in war, the link did not save Ireland from violent fluctuations. Could it be that link actually served to transmit these fluctuations into our economy?

There is an obvious answer to all the above analysis of the results of the link or rather of the failure of the link to save us from certain results. The last twenty years were completely abnormal: the link was unfortunate in its birth and in all its 'teenage growth right up to its 21st birthday next year. That is perfectly true: the world-wide slump of 1929, our own little economic war up to 1938, the pre-war rearmament inflation, the war—all these were abnormal. But two points may be noted. Nowadays abnormality is the normal state of the world: since 1914 statesmen must have learnt that lesson at least. Moreover, it is no excuse for the failure of an emergency-brake to say that it was asked to function in an emergency: that is precisely what it is for and when it is meant to work. The link with sterling is certainly not required in normal times when circumstances are normal. It is in abnormal times that it should be of use, if it is going to be of use at all. If not, then, seeing that it is likely that abnormal times will last for many a long year, perhaps it would be well to suspend the link till normal times return.

The fourth and fifth reasons given by the Banking Commission and mentioned above are merely particular applications to Ireland of the first and second reasons. As such the same remarks apply to them as have been made in discussing the achievement or non-achievement of the general monetary purposes.

The sixth reason given is that "the link has the advantage of possessing the confidence of the (Irish) public, and conversely, any suggestion for the relaxation of it would meet with wide distrust". This argument must weigh very heavily with anyone in a responsible position. It is hard to over-estimate the importance of psychological factors in dealing with monetary matters, banking, currency and credit. "Confidence grows like a tree," someone has said, "but doubt

spreads like a forest fire." A very great deal of imperfection in a system may well be patiently endured, if the system has the confidence of the public. The itch to be meddlesome and try to better what is already good often leads to worsening it. "Let well enough alone" is mother wisdom taught to every child: and statesmen must learn how much of an evil it is wise to tolerate.

At the same time, it may be questioned whether the link with sterling does possess the confidence of the Irish public. Undoubtedly, it does possess the confidence of a goodly proportion of the industrial, commercial and banking sections of the City of Dublin. But outside Dublin, it is more than doubtful whether more than a minute fraction of the people bother their head one way or another about it. And even in Dublin and among those interested and competent, there is, to-day, no such unanimity in this confidence in the link as the Banking Commission suggested there was in 1938. Moreover, even if there was a much wider confidence in the link than there is, it would still be permissible, as Mr. McGilligan suggested in the Senate, to examine very carefully whether that confidence was justified. Last January, despite protests from many quarters, France suddenly devalued its franc from 480 frs. to the £ to 864 frs. to the £. The reason given was the need of "adapting the value of the franc to international economic realities". At the same time, France introduced a multiple currency system. In the previous November, Italy devalued the lira, for the fourth time since the end of the war, reducing it from 1,120 lire to the £ to 1,961 lire to the £. The previous July England had restored the convertibility of sterling, but in a few weeks had to suspend it again, even at the penalty of having the American loan frozen.

In such a world, an unthinking confidence in any system is unwise. If there is going to be confidence or if it is going to be fostered and encouraged, it should be firmly established on reasoned grounds understandable by those who are giving their confidence and who will have to suffer if that confidence is misplaced.

But when all is said and done, we come back to the most powerful arguments, if not for a statutory link, at least for a currency so managed that the £1 for Irish pound parity will remain reasonably stable. These arguments are (i) the great bulk of our exports go to England, and of our imports come from England; and (ii) the huge sterling investments we hold in England. Any change in the present

parity either up or down would have notable consequences on both our trade with England and the value of the capital and the yield of our sterling investments. On the other hand, should our trade with England and our present and future investments there receive pride of place, indeed almost exclusive place, in this problem? There are other considerations touching the internal domestic economy of the country which have a right to be weighed. It is obvious that no sudden or violent action could be taken. But might not a long-term policy, applied very gradually, shepherd our people along a path of social and economic progress somewhat different from that which they are willy-nilly following at present guided by the tram-rails of the "link with sterling".

---

## CONFITEOR

**H**AVING given Thee all,  
I straightway leap our bond;  
That link of givenness  
snap uncaring, that chain  
of cumulated presences  
throw off: self-revelling  
in forsakedness of Thee.

Having shut Thee out,  
I feign delight, self-fond;  
That chink of selfness  
peering through, that depth  
of mirrored excellences  
fast-plumbed: discovering  
soon in nakedness of self  
the shuttered uncommunioned heart.

O. O'B.

# EDUCATION FOR WORKERS

## CATHOLIC LABOUR SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES

By FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

*In this article specially written for the IRISH MONTHLY, Fr. Corley, a member of the Institute of Social Order, St. Louis and the Editor of Social Order, tells of the development of Catholic labour education in the United States.*

### I

SCHOOLS for workers in the United States have been in existence for many years. During the 19th century there were a number of mechanics' schools and worker-education projects sponsored by the trade-union movement itself. The efforts waned, however, and by 1910 the movement was practically non-existent. During the 1920's there was revival. The School for Workers at the University of Wisconsin began its activities in 1925. A few other colleges had undertaken similar activities during the following years, but the movement did not gain strength until the mid-30's.

The tremendous growth in labour unions, consequent upon passage of the Wagner Act (1935) and establishment of the Committee for Industrial Organisations (1935—later, 1938, the Congress of Industrial Organisations), made further growth in workers' education schemes imperative. Schools have been opened in connection with many universities throughout the country, by labour organisations themselves and by others interested in the trade-union movement, notably the Socialist Party. The Communists have also been active in the worker-education movement. One official American statement reported that in 1941 the Communists maintained workers' schools in 178 cities throughout the United States. The influence of this vast chain of schools upon the trade-union movement was very great. While no recent figures are available, it is altogether likely that many of these schools have since been disbanded.

The earliest Catholic effort in the labour-school movement was a small school started at Fordham University, New York, in 1911, by

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Reverend Terence Shealy, S.J., for workers to whom he had given retreats. In the course of a few years this effort developed into the Fordham University School of Social Work and ceased to teach labourers. The first formal labour school under Catholic auspices, which has continued to the present day, seems to be the well-known Xavier Labour School, New York. This was established in February 1936 by Reverend Francis O'Malley, S.J. Two years later the Crown Heights Labour School in Brooklyn, which is directed by the Reverend William J. Smith, S.J., author of *Spotlight on Labour Unions*, was established. At Rockhurst College in Kansas City a forum for the clergy and informal labour classes were started in 1939 by Reverend John C. Friedl, S.J., and the labour school was opened in February 1940.

Since that time Catholic labour schools have sprung up in many localities throughout the United States. They have been sponsored by educational institutions, both collegiate and secondary, by parishes and by Catholic lay organisations. While worker-education effort has been concentrated in the eastern part of the United States, there are a number of schools in the Midwest and South and a few on the Pacific seaboard.

At the present time the semi-official directory of Catholic labour schools, recently issued by the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, lists a total of 58 labour schools. Of these twenty-six are in the eastern states, twenty-three in the Midwest, three in the South, and six in the Far West. The largest number of schools is located in the State of New York, with Pennsylvania following closely.

Almost without exception these schools are directed by priests, the majority of whom have received special academic training in economics and sociology. Other priest-directors have been members of trade unions in their pre-seminary days and consequently have first-hand experience of workers' needs and abilities. To a man they are sympathetic with the trade-union movement and the problems of workers in modern industrial civilisation and are devoting time and energy to giving them the educational tools they need to improve their unions, their working conditions and their relations with employers.

Although their sympathies lie with the worker, they are aware that what is most needed in modern industry is improved relations between labour and management and co-operation between the two groups,

rather than the spirit of conflict which has characterised capitalist industry from its beginning.

Sponsorship of the schools has been undertaken generally by three large groups. These are the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (A.C.T.U.), the diocesan clergy and the Jesuits. The A.C.T.U. maintains five schools in New York, Pittsburg, Gary, Indiana, Detroit, and San Francisco. Diocesan clergy direct twenty-nine central schools. There are nineteen schools in the chain of Jesuit labour schools across the country, most of them attached to and staffed by faculty members of Jesuit colleges. Other religious Orders maintain four schools. In addition to individual schools, there are several large groups maintained by diocesan clergy. Thus, in the Hartford, Connecticut, diocese, one authority says there are fourteen; in Chicago, eighteen; in Detroit, thirty-eight.

There is little uniformity of organisational structure in the diocesan systems. In Connecticut one school has been opened in each important city; the schools in Chicago are parochial; in Detroit two or more parishes have been worked into inter-parochial units. This diversity of organisation which arises from diversity of needs, limitations of faculty and worker needs, has had little harmful effect since authorities in each case adopted the form of organisation best suited to their specific needs and resources. In most other areas of the United States where schools have been opened, they exist only in the diocesan see.

### OBJECTIVES

The objects of the Catholic labour-school movement in the United States are manifold and are best divided into those which are long-range and those which are immediate. There is no unanimity among directors as to their objectives nor has there been any official formulation of purpose, but the following might be listed as the long-range objectives common to all Catholic labour schools: (1) to teach and to stress Catholic principles applicable to labour-management relations; (2) to impress upon both management and labour the social responsibilities implied in day-to-day applications of these principles; (3) to train and equip men who will use intelligently and diffuse effectively sound social doctrine.

It will be seen at once that the second objective, which includes education of management, goes beyond the specific purpose of a workers' school. As a matter of fact a number of the schools, as

will be noted later, do have courses for management as well as labour, but the present article is concerned primarily with workers' education.

There is even less unanimity about the immediate objectives of Catholic workers' education. A few of the schools have set for themselves the purpose of training leaders who can act in official positions within the unions and instil into rank-and-file membership the knowledge they have acquired in the workers' schools. The majority of the schools, however, have undertaken to train all workers and aim less at developing a nucleus of labour leaders than at raising the general level of workers' knowledge and ability. This basic difference in objective has never been resolved and probably will continue, at least into the immediate future. Actually, there is no confusion of mind as a result of this difference, and even the schools which aim at general worker education do produce capable labour leaders.

As has been remarked above many of the schools attempt to teach both workers and managers. These schools might be said to be more interested in labour-management problems than in workers' education. In some of the schools of this type workers and managers sit in the same classes and follow the same curriculum. In others, separate classes are maintained, and the two groups meet only in special sessions such as clinics, forums, lectures by visiting speakers and special joint projects. Some detail of these joint activities will be given later.

Many of the schools have a fully developed programme of courses which is intended to give a worker the basic tools he needs in trade-union activities. Others are less rigid in their programme and offer a wide variety of electives from which students may choose the courses which will be of greatest practical value to them. In the former case a certificate is often granted at the conclusion of the programme (it requires two to four years of attendance at weekly or bi-weekly classes).

For the sake of simplicity the courses might be divided into two classes, namely, tool courses and content courses. The former type is intended to give the worker the practical skills he needs in trade-union activities. Such courses would be: Logic, Correct English, Parliamentary Procedure, Job Analysis, Collective Bargaining, Grievance Procedure, Arbitration Procedure. Special courses are sometimes given for shop stewards and various union officers to help them better carry out the duties of their position.

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Content courses would concern such topics as ethics, psychology, economics, philosophy of labour, current labour problems, history of labour, history of labour law. For more advanced students courses are given on such topics as history of industrial relations, contract negotiations, labour economics, industrial ethics, or more specialised courses either for a restricted group, e.g. telephone workers, printers, or one specific phase of legislation such as the Taft-Hartley Act or the Railway Labour Act.

In many instances special courses are prepared at the request of groups of students to meet immediate or highly specialised needs. Obviously such attempts to do a more specific job cannot be multiplied. The facilities of the schools and the number of teachers available severely restrict these more specialised efforts.

The classes meet in the evenings after the day's work and normally continue for about fifty minutes each. In some schools two courses will be taught each evening; in others, three or four. Some schools have sessions only one night a week; others will be open two or three evenings each week. In the latter case, courses may be repeated for the benefit of those unable to attend no other evenings, or different courses may be taught, so that in one or two instances it is possible for a worker to follow as many as nine different courses of lectures during the same session.

Thus, at Xavier Labour School in New York, the oldest Catholic labour school in the United States, classes are held on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays. On the first and second evenings there are four different periods; on the third evening three periods. An outline of the present curriculum at Xavier might make this clearer:—

### *Tuesday Evening*

First Period	...	...	...	...	6.45-7.25
(A) Present-day Economics					
(B) Contract Negotiations					
Second Period	...	...	...	...	7.30-8.10
(A) Labour History					
(B) Taft-Hartley Law					
(C) Job Analysis					
Recess	...	...	...	...	8.10-8.20

## EDUCATION FOR WORKERS

Third Period	...	...	...	...	8.20-9.00
(A) The Worker and Government					
(B) The Philosophy of Right Living					
Fourth Period	...	...	...	...	9.05-9.45
Public Speaking					

*Wednesday Evening*

First Period	...	...	...	...	6.45-7.25
(A) Shop Stewards					
(B) Parliamentary Procedure I.					
(C) Parliamentary Procedure II.					
Second Period	...	...	...	...	7.30-8.10
(A) The Worker and the Law					
(B) Trade Union Methods					
(C) Prices, Wages and Profits					
Recess	...	...	...	...	8.10-8.20
Third Period	...	...	...	...	8.20-9.00
The Philosophy of Labour					
Fourth Period	...	...	...	...	9.05-9.45
Public Speaking					

*Thursday Evening—Leadership Programme*

First Period	...	...	...	...	6.45-7.25
(A) Preparing an Arbitration Case					
(B) Industrial Psychology					
Second Period	...	...	...	...	7.30-8.10
(A) Labour Journalism					
(B) Panel Discussions on the Taft-Hartley Act					
Third Period	...	...	...	...	8.20-9.45
Forum					

At Xavier the worker has a choice of 16 different courses. By careful choice of electives, often after consultation with the director or his union officials, a worker is able to make a balanced choice of courses which will give him the rudiments of a sound trade union education. From year to year the programme of courses is changed to meet the needs of advanced students and to solve problems raised by current labour situations. Special courses on the Taft-Hartley Law

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will be an example of the latter type. It would be impossible to list here the tremendous variety of courses taught in all the Catholic labour schools throughout the country. A cursory survey of curricula listed more than 65 different courses being offered by schools whose programmes of study were readily available. A complete listing would probably reveal many more. As the Catholic labour-school movement matures, and more advanced students complete the ordinary course of studies, it will be necessary to prepare more and more advanced work for them. This will require more skilled teachers and a much wider range of curriculum, since the needs of these trained students will be extremely diverse.

It might help to clarify the ordinary procedure somewhat if we were to follow a hypothetical student through a course of studies he could follow in one of the schools.

In his first year of study, attending classes two nights a week, he would take courses in Correct English, Public Speaking, Logic, and the History of Labour. In the second half of the year he would continue his courses in English, Speaking, and Labour History, and begin a course in Ethics.

During his second year he would advance to Parliamentary Procedure (which would continue his work in public speaking), carry on the course in Ethics and take up a course in Elementary Economics. During the second half he would continue the courses in Ethics and Economics and carry courses in the Philosophy of Labour and Trade Union Methods.

In his third year he would advance, perhaps, to Current Labour Problems, Job Analysis, Labour Law, and Arbitration (or Grievance) Procedure. During the second semester these courses might be continued, or he could take an advanced course in Ethics and Labour Law.

In his final year, courses in Current Labour Problems, Collective Bargaining, Social Legislation and Contract Drafting might be valuable. Instead of some of these courses he might substitute practical clinics in Collective Bargaining, Contract Drafting, Arbitration (or Grievance) Procedure. In these clinics, actual or hypothetical cases are carried through the entire procedure so that students may acquire the skill they need in ordinary activities which will be expected of them as skilled trade-union members.

*(To be continued)*

# THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES OF ST. IGNATIUS

By J. E. CANAVAN, S.J.

*To commemorate the fourth centenary of the first Papal approval of The Spiritual Exercises, given by Paul III in a Bull dated 31 July 1548, we offer our readers this fine appreciation from the pen of Fr. J. E. Canavan, Professor of Fundamental Theology and Prefect of Studies in the Faculty of Theology, Milltown Park, Dublin.*

**S**T. IGNATIUS began to write the "Spiritual Exercises" at Manresa, where he practised severe ascetic exercises after his conversion, and he never finished the book. He worked on it till the end of his life, adding, changing as his experience widened. The Spanish text has marginal notes in Latin and Italian, and scholastic terms which St. Ignatius would not have used at Manresa. We have, besides, his statement to Father Luis Gonzales: "I did not compose the Exercises all at once. When anything resulting from my experience seemed to me likely to be of use to others, I took note of it." The Exercises, therefore, are not abstract; their author lived them and put them to the test of experience, his own as well as others'.

St. Ignatius was so convinced of their power that he judged that few daily spiritual exercises need thereafter be prescribed by rule, if an Exercitant had gone through the Exercises earnestly under a competent director. He believed that the discipline of the Exercises and the grace they brought would so free the spirit that all who made them diligently would henceforth, of their own accord, fulfil enthusiastically the duties of prayer and labour for the greater glory of God.

At the outset, the Exercitants made the Exercises singly, for a whole month. Gabriel Lerneus, that "sprout of Calvin" as Diertins calls him in his *Historia Exercitiorum*, describes the procedure, as he imagined it, in a passage of vigorous invective and misrepresentation—the Exercitant imprisoned in a room apart, passing day and night in darkness, wracked by horror and melancholy, fearing he would never know joy again or a pleasant time. "He who in his

senses enters therein emerges bereft of his senses, a stupid trunk, dead to all the world's delights, living for ever after in sadness and mourning. Twice a day one of those Magi visit him who, with set face and muffled voice, gives him brief incantations on small pieces of paper; and the miserable wretch, ruminating over them in solitude, ensnares and bewitches himself more and more." Thus, in addition to other blessings, the Exercises have upon them the discipline of persecution; and the belittling critics have not always been non-Catholics.

When a Master of Novices in Austria asked permission to give the Exercises to the Novices as a group, the General refused the request in a curt phrase, "Let the custom be observed". This method demanded that the Director should take the Exercitant under his care, study him closely, and taking careful account of temperament, character, education and age, observe the effect the Exercises were producing, without, however, thrusting his own will and views between his charge and the play of divine grace. Whatever theories the Director may have held were to be kept in check lest they might draw the Exercitant away from the way God was leading him, as he savoured in attentive prayer the great truths of faith, the beauty of Christ's character and the honour of His call to distinguished service. Such balance and restraint, "indifference" as St. Ignatius terms it, called for much unselfishness on the part of the Director and the single eye looking always for the truth. Therefore St. Ignatius wrote the Rules for the Discernment of Spirits to help Directors to carry out their duties circumspectly. These rules, like so much else in the Exercises, show that St. Ignatius knew human nature, the way in which men are drawn away from the good and the best means of keeping one's peace of soul in temptation and discouragement.

The very power and success of the Exercises have brought it about that this method of handling each Exercitant singly cannot be observed because so many now wish to make Retreats that the large number of Directors required by the early procedure, could not be found. Consequently, Directors usually give Retreats to communities or groups; the Exercitants listen to lectures and give less time to private meditation; the Director does not come into such close contact with each one; and the effect is often not as deep as St. Ignatius would have expected. However, that is as much as can be done in

the circumstances; and, whenever possible, the Exercises are still given and made in the old way.

The Exercises were the first book published by the Society of Jesus, and many would add "the greatest". It has been said that no other book, except the Bible, has had so many commentaries written on it. However, the commentaries most treasured by the Society are those of the Popes, from the Bull of Paul III, who first approved the version for printing in 1548, through a long succession to the Apostolic Constitution *Mens Nostra* of Pius XI, where the Holy Father said: "Although, thanks to God's merciful Providence, the line never failed of those who skilfully offered for the contemplation of the faithful, celestial truths clearly discerned, yet Ignatius in the first book he wrote (though he was then quite unpractised as a writer), under the title of *Spiritual Exercises* which he gave it, opened the way for a certain system and a particular method of making spiritual retreats which would aid the faithful wonderfully towards hating their sins and disposing themselves to live holily after the example of Our Lord Jesus Christ." The Holy Father then reminds us of "the many persons, illustrious for their virtue, who openly confessed that they drew their first incentive to virtue from this book as from a well," especially "those two lights of the Church from the secular clergy, St. Francis de Sales and St. Charles Borromeo." The constitution concludes with the warm desire that these Spiritual Exercises should be availed of more widely, and that those homes of piety where retreats are made should flourish in great abundance. "And in praying for this out of charity towards the Lord's flock . . . in order to give a marked sign of our gratitude towards the holy Patriarch, We declare, constitute and promulgate St. Ignatius of Loyola Heavenly Patron of all Spiritual Exercises, and, therefore, of institutes, sodalities, associations of whatsoever kind which make provision for and attend to those who enter upon Spiritual Exercises."

If, moreover, we take into account that the "Spiritual Exercises" enjoined on those about to take Holy Orders mean, as there are good grounds for maintaining, the Ignatian Exercises, then this little book has almost become the official ascetic text-book of the Catholic Church.

Though the Exercises are a work of ascetical theology, they are not properly speaking a scientific treatise on Ascetics, because their author does not set himself to explain, logically and systematically, the

various degrees of spiritual experience through which the ascetic moves towards higher contemplation. One must not look for new doctrine in them, nor for descriptions and criticism of mystical experiences. Such as they are, they are firmly based on the Scriptures, on tradition, on the accepted ascetical teaching among Catholics, and on experience. Experience, however, is not the chief criterion of truth, but a guide to how we should apply the truth and an earnest of its effective consolations. What is original in them is the system, the ordered, relentless assault upon the Exercitant through the truths of faith, which are assumed and nowhere proved in the Exercises. They are, therefore, rather a method than a manual.

The Ascetic (a term first used perhaps by Origen) is a person who practises virtue or who strives to acquire it by going through a series of exercises. St. Ignatius in this little book guides and trains the Exercitant to Christian virtue, even to the noblest practice of it in the Counsels, to such virtue as one may acquire by one's own efforts aided by divine grace. Asceticism in this sense, with its central doctrine that self-abnegation is necessary for true virtue and for progress in it, is common to both Ascetic and Mystical Theology, though they differ in the end or purpose assigned to ascetic action. The term "Mystic" implies a science or an experience containing a mystery or a large element of mystery. Now, there is no mystery in advising self-denial. Moreover, the mysterious action of grace is recognised and counted upon by both the ascetic and the mystic theologian; but if such action made a science or an art mystical, then all science and art would be mystical, not least the science of Dogmatic Theology. The Ascetic teaches us how to use creatures so as to live well with the ordinary graces; the Mystic, taking for granted a long laborious training in asceticism, seeks to free himself by a severe effort from the domination of the senses and from the tyranny of the many in order to enjoy contact with Absolute Being, the One and the All. He must, therefore, school himself to surrender sensuous experience, to jettison memory, even intellectual memory, to withdraw the intellect from investigating partial truth and from the process of reasoning and inference, in order to remove all obstacles to the extraordinary grace enabling him to enjoy for long periods a close union with Absolute Being in an intuitive glance. The purpose of his ascetic is the grace of infused contemplation: the purpose of the Ignatian ascetic is virtuous action. True, the disposition of soul we may acquire by our own powers, with

the help of ordinary grace, may enable us to practise even heroic virtue and thus prepare us for the gift of higher contemplation; nevertheless, St. Ignatius does not propose of set purpose to train the Exercitant to discover, in a rapt intuition, what is most for God's glory. All through he is concerned with inference, with the ordinary graces we all may count upon, with the use of the natural powers of the soul in order that we may behave virtuously and arrive at true decisions in matters of some importance.

The Spiritual Exercises, then, are not the kind of book that St. Augustine or Denis the Areopogite or St. John of the Cross would have written, though their views are in no way alien to the Exercises; and these pre-eminent mystics would have profited from a retreat made after the Ignatian method. For, by establishing in the Exercitant the resolve to give distinguished service to Christ Our Lord and by teaching him how to ponder and savour divine truth for a set hour or more at a time, they educate him to acquired contemplation and thus lead him to the very threshold of the contemplative life.

Presuming, therefore, the truths of faith, the historical truth of the Gospel story, the established doctrine of all experienced ascetics through the ages, presuming, furthermore, that the Exercitant is capable of generous impulses, the Exercises provide the motives drawn from these sources and the method of penetrating and seizing them vividly, so that the Exercitant, convinced of their truth and fired by their beauty, finds what God's will is for him and wishes effectively to do it. They impose conviction which is not just a cold surrender to the truth, but a warm assent glowing with emotion—with gratitude, surprise, wonder, love and sorrow.

They educate the Christian who can be generous to find and do the will of God in the common round of affairs, with the ordinary graces. St. Augustine regards the practice of the Counsels as a part of the unitive way: not so St. Ignatius, who develops very deftly the initial generosity of the Exercitant and leads him step by step to heroism, to the high practice of the Counsels in the day-to-day business of choice and action, whether God will raise him to contemplative union or no. Therefore, the Exercises suggest methods whereby we may acquire an easy proficiency in the ordinary ways of prayer by our own exertions, by assiduous practice, with the help of grace. They explain not theoretically only, but experimentally too, the quality of Christian virtue, the means of acquiring it, the obstacles, exaggerations and

counterfeits to which it is liable. They move on the principle that if the Exercitant is to give a real assent to refined truths which will tax his generosity to the utmost, he must relish and realise them, not in the abstract but through experiment: for we realise only what we have made or tried to make. James I rebuked Dr. Reynolds for talking beyond his experience: "As for you, Dr. Reynolds, many men speak of Robin Hood who never shot in his bow." The effort to practise virtue forces us to realise what it is, especially if we measure ourselves against the perfect virtue with which Jesus Christ confronted events similar to those which put us to the test. The abstract and sentimental are foreign to the Exercises, we may even say, banned from them and decried. They clear the mind of cant. In that sense, they are practical.

The Exercitant is not directed to scrutinise the content of revelation or to question the universe: he is told that he should question himself diligently about his place, function and purpose within the order set up for him by God. Frequently, St. Ignatius uses the words "order", "disorder" to force the issue in upon the Exercitant, so that, progressively prepared and disposed (favourite words of St. Ignatius) by each exercise in turn, he should choose and behave well in all the circumstances. All through the Exercises treat the Exercitant as a person distinct from others, with his peculiar temperament, breeding, powers, frailties, with the graces received and recognised by himself—a living person, secret and withdrawn, with all his history on his head. Abstract definitions do not practice virtue nor make decisions. Therefore the Exercitant must make the Exercises himself and realise them through his experience, aware that from first to last they press for decision. A Positivist, P. Lafitte said truly of them that "These Exercises are to my mind a real masterpiece of political and moral wisdom and merit careful study. . . . Their object is so to organise the moral life of the individual that by prolonged, solitary and personal labour he himself realises the most perfect balance of the mind". The "Sprout of Calvin" and the Positivist seem to be at variance over the merits of the Exercises!

We might describe the Exercises as a manual which teaches how to acquire and foster an heroic prudence in the service of God. Cardinal Newman has said that amongst the saints, three great Patriarchs or "Nursing Fathers" have exercised a preponderating influence: Benedict, representing Poetry; Dominic, representing Science; Ignatius,

representing Prudence. The Prudence placed thus in the company of Poetry and Science, is not the cunning which quickly and easily lights on the expedient, but a virtue, as St. Thomas defines it, of the practical intellect enabling it to discover and choose the best means to the end proposed. St. Francis de Sales's "discretion" is pretty much the same thing. The Exercises are intent from first to last on educating the Exercitant to prudence, to the "wisdom of the spirit", so that he may securely discern the best means to promote God's greater glory, adopt them, and so come to terms with reality in the important business of living well. This happy result rests upon the chooser being so divested of inordinate self-interest that he will judge on the merits of the case what he should do, whether that be congenial to his convenience or not. Thus, both the Mystics and St. Ignatius wish, like St. Paul "to free the spirit" and to unite it, clarified and transformed, to God, though union with God does not mean the same thing for them.

The power of the Exercises often resides not so much in what they say but rather in the surroundings in which they place the Exercitant, thus forcing upon him in a vivid human way the importance and urgency of that life in which he stands, the heavy responsibility which overshadows that game of consequences wherein he dices with the world, the flesh and the devil. He is put kneeling at the foot of the Cross; he is bade to stand before the whole court of heaven; he is told to see himself as an exile in a vast and dreary wilderness, as a soldier in combat, as sick and lying on his deathbed. In the colloquy that closes the meditation on one's personal sins, the Exercises confront the sinner with the vast, beneficent order of a universe obeying God, so firm in its obedience that Satan, as Meredith sees him in a sonnet, striding out from God's presence and casting about for allies in rebellion, " Saw, rank on rank, the army of unalterable law." Thus it is brought home to the sinner that, though he has struck a jarring note in the harmony of the universe, all creatures that serve God preserve and support him still in the design in which they move obedient, though he, so far as he may, has marred the pattern of it. The Angels, God's servitors, watch over him, the Saints, God's friends, pray for him, creatures renew themselves for his comfort season by season, though he abuses them for his pleasure against the law of God. While he lives he profits by the Communion of Saints. This is the poignant mystery searching the depths of a contrite soul and rousing it, through an embarrassed shame, to the generous service of God. For, though

the universe moves forward on a law whose pressure never ceases—a kind of impersonal force with which we cannot argue, a pitiless power always overwhelming us—yet the Legislator is the God of Love whose heaven leaps with joy whenever one sinner turns away from sinning. Thus, in his Exercises, St. Ignatius uses all created things to lead men to God, and nowhere says a word that leaves the soul depressed and unnerved. Nothing except sin is bad and all things are at our service, on occasion. In this, as in much else, he differs decisively with the Manichee and the Calvinist. And, at the end of the Exercises, the Exercitant gives all his powers to God—the richer they are the better—not on a strict reckoning of what is due to the Creator by the creature, but with the eager, tempestuous surrender of a lover to the beloved.

What Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch said of great literature could be said justly of the Exercises: “*Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas.* . . . Is it possible that you can read one, two, three or more of the acknowledged masterpieces of literature without having it borne in on you that they are great because they are alive, and traffic not with cold, celestial certainties, but with men’s hopes, aspirations, doubts, loves, hates, breakings of the heart, the glory and vanity of human endeavour, the transience of beauty, the capricious uncertain lease on which you and I hold life, the dark coast to which we inevitably steer; all that amuses or vexes, all that gladdens, saddens, maddens us men and women on this brief and mutable traject which yet must be our home for a while, the anchorage of our hearts?” Judged by that sentence, the little book of the Exercises is great literature: great and noble literature.

The balance of it, the steady harmonising of truths at first sight hard to reconcile, into clear conviction and firm emotion, is one of its chief merits. By arousing, directing and developing all that is good in us, the Exercises educate those who catch their spirit, to a disciplined enthusiasm, a cold ardour, a wild prudence, a generous caution in no haste to assert itself—to the prudent and distinguished service of God.

# FROM COMINTERN TO COMINFORM

(15th May 1943—15th May 1948)

By DR. ANTHONY CROATY

*In this article Dr. Croaty, a well-informed Croatian at present resident in Dublin, traces the development of Soviet policy in South-Eastern Europe.*

## *The Dissolution of the Comintern*

**F**IVE years ago, on 15 May, 1943, the Executive Committee of the Comintern decided to dissolve the Communist Third International. This important resolution of the Comintern to renounce their open control of the Communist parties in different countries was obviously connected with its policy of political warfare. In spring of 1943 the military position of the Red Army was one of great difficulty, and Russian needs from the Western Allies were also great.

Comments on the passing of the Comintern differed widely. Opponents of Germany claimed that its dissolution was a particularly friendly gesture of goodwill on the part of Stalin towards the Western Allies; they saw in it the removal of the latent threat of a Communist World Revolution.

## *The "Turning-point" of Russian Policy?*

Some spoke of the "turning-point" of Russian policy, of the renunciation of the idea of World Revolution, and the "setting free" of the Communist parties all over the world which were up to the 15th May, 1943, under the direct orders of the Comintern. The optimists, who believed that the military coalition of the Allies would be continued after the victory over the common enemy, said that the idea of new "Russian Nationalism" had conquered the policy of "World Revolution." They regarded Stalin as the follower of the national policy of Peter the Great, and spoke oracularly of the "abandonment" by the Russian rulers of the old revolutionary ideology enshrined in Lenin's political testament.

The intensive cultivation of Russian patriotism and nationality carried on during the war by the Moscow rulers seemed to confirm

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this opinion. Historic memories from the time of Peter the Great were being revived. Russian public opinion was much occupied with ideas of Pan-Slavism. Pan-Slavist congresses took place in Moscow and in London. The hope increased that East and West would join hands after the victory over Germany, in spite of the contrasts in the economic and social structure which existed in Soviet Russia and in Western Europe. The dissolution of the Comintern seemed to remove one of the most difficult impediments in reaching an agreement between Russia and the Western democracies. The Kremlin made preparations to implant ideas of Russian nationalism and patriotism in the minds of the people.

### *Only a Bluff?*

On the other hand, the Vatican, Switzerland and some other countries were very sceptical about this step of the Kremlin. In these circles many who knew the Communist tactics and dynamics saw in this important step only a bluff of the Soviet ruler, a new method of Communist propaganda.

Some of the optimistic interpretations of the reconciliation of the Communist and Western political and social systems were soon refuted by political developments. The cutting of the ties which bound the Communist parties with the Comintern made it easier for Communists to join in the national resistance movements of their native countries.

### *Under National Camouflage*

The ultimate object of this new liberty was not to give the Communists full political autonomy, but to enable them to increase their influence in the national frame-work in their own countries.

The Communist resistance movement in Yugoslavia under the leadership of Marshal Tito, a Moscow-trained Communist, operated under a sympathetic national cover: The Army of National Liberation and the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia. The Partisan Communist Movement never mentioned in their propaganda in Yugoslavia, Poland, Italy and other countries the word Communist. Another Moscow-trained Communist, a comrade of Marshal Tito and of Dimitrov, the secretary general of Comintern and now Premier in Bulgaria, M. Bierut, a Russian citizen of Polish origin and an ardent Communist, established another "National"

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Committee, namely, the Polish Committee of National Liberation. The Italian Partisans also sought nationalist camouflage, e.g., Garibaldi Brigade!

The Communist parties gained in elasticity and flexibility now that they had become formally independent of Moscow. This tactical manoeuvre of the Comintern in the spring of 1943 created the basis for a political offensive by the Communists after the liberation of occupied Europe. Without the dissolution of the Communist Third International, the Communists would never have succeeded as leaders of the masses in many European countries. Typical examples are the Communist parties in France and in Italy. If the Comintern had not been dissolved, the Communists would never have gained the confidence of the masses and would never have gained office in the Coalition Governments, e.g. Italy and France, 1945-1946. If the Communists had not in the name of patriotism exterminated those elements of the population politically opposed to them, they would never have taken complete possession of some European States. During the Civil War in Yugoslavia (1942-1945) the Communist Partisans liquidated about 400 Croatian Catholic priests and a great number of Croatian Catholic intellectuals under the pretext that they were Fascists, collaborators, traitors.

The Tito Partisans prepared the way for a Russian domination of the Balkans. It was known that the Croat Catholics, contrary to the Orthodox Serbs and Bulgarians, were anti-Russian and anti-Communist in outlook.

The Greek Partisan Communists did not succeed because the British, and not the Red Army, occupied Greece in 1944. But the Greek Partisans used the same method of terror in order to liquidate their political opponents. Mr. Churchill, in his speech of 24 May, 1944, said: "The excesses of E.L.A.S., which is the military body operating under E.A.M., had so alienated the population in many parts that the Germans had been able to form security battalions of Greeks to fight the E.A.M."

The same thing happened in Eastern Poland when the Red Army occupied in 1944 this territory. The Russians liquidated completely the Catholic Uniate Church. The Papal encyclical, *Orientales Omnes Ecclesias*, issued on 23 December, 1945, is an historic document about the tragic fate of the Uniate Catholics.

In Bulgaria in the autumn of 1944 some hundreds of statesmen—

among them Prince Cyril, the brother of late King Boris—politicians and educated people, all well known as Anglophils, were liquidated as “Fascists”.

In the last five years (1944-1948) all Western-minded leaders and most of their important followers have been liquidated behind the Iron Curtain.

In the turbulent summer months of 1945 the Communists, under whose leadership many patriotic fighters joined the resistance movement, rose rapidly upon the waves of Anti-Fascism and presented themselves as the leaders and deliverers of the future to the despondent masses disappointed with the leaders of yesterday. It seems that the aim of the 7th Congress of the Communist Third International in the year 1935, viz. the establishment of a People’s Front in all the countries of the world in collaboration with the (before bitterly hated!) Social-Democrats and left-wing bourgeois element, had been reached ten years later in 1945. In this year the Communists entered the Government in France and in Italy.

Western European experts on the Communist doctrine and the Communist movement treated the new “turning” of the Comintern with reserve. They did not forget the remarkable saying of the famous Soviet-Russian jurist, Pashukanis: “What is useful to the Communist movement is of moral obligation for every Communist. In such a philosophy there is no absolute moral standard. What is useful to-day can cease to be useful to-morrow.” For us Catholics moral principles in politics are absolute.

### *The Birth of Cominform*

Communist leaders thought that the end of 1947 would be an opportune time for a new Communist offensive. France and Italy, both countries with old Catholic traditions, were divided. The conflict between Communist and non-Communist Frenchmen paralysed the national consolidation of France. It was hoped that the Communist attitude in France during the second half of the war meant that party interests must be subservient to common national interests, but, in fact, it meant that national interests must be identified with Communist interests, which in turn must be identified with Soviet interests.

The setting up of an information and co-ordination centre of the Communist parties in Belgrade on 5 October, 1947, has been interpreted by the Western World generally as the re-establishment of the

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Comintern. Really it only meant a change of garment, because the continuity of the lines of communication between the Communist parties and Moscow existed, no doubt, after 15 May, 1943.

The setting up of the Comintern under the new name—Cominform—surprised few save those who were naïve enough to believe seriously in the “conversion” of the Communists. The official resumption of the Comintern-tradition caused an international sensation: the reason was that the idea of Soviet Communism was now completely substituted for the idea of class Communism.

Since 1945 in all the countries in which they exercised an influence over home and foreign policy the Communists have shown that their “independence” of the Kremlin meant in practice a subordination to directives from Moscow. It is not without reason that the States behind the Iron Curtain are described as Soviet satellites.

The Cominform has become part of World Politics and an important part of Russian power policy. Soviet Russia thus possesses an influential instrument in numerous countries in the same way as the Totalitarian powers did up to 1945.

### *The Strengthening of Cominform's Influence in Eastern Europe*

After the setting up of the Cominform in Belgrade the new régimes in Eastern Europe, and especially in the Balkans, have been strengthened. In connection with this it will be interesting to mention some important dates.

October 8—Greek Communist Party published manifesto calling on all Greeks to support the guerrillas.

October 20—Announcement that famous Professor Tarnawski, the greatest Polish authority on English literature, has been sentenced to 10 years’ imprisonment before a secret military court for “trying to turn back the will of history”.

October 21—Thirty-nine Bulgarian officers sentenced to imprisonment for terms of 10 to 15 years.

November 5—M. Tatarescu, Rumanian Foreign Minister and leader of the National Liberals, resigns from the Government and is succeeded by Mme. Anna Pauker, a Communist.

November 11—Dr. Maniu, a Uniate Catholic, leader of Rumanian Peasant Party, is sentenced to hard labour for life for treason. Eighteen other prominent Rumanian politicians sentenced.

- December 24—Setting up of a “free democratic Government” in Greece announced from the headquarters of General Markos, the Greek Communist guerilla leader.
- December 30—Abdication of King Michael of Rumania.
- January 1—One hundred and sixty Army officers pensioned off from the Rumanian Army under the orders of the Communist Minister of Defence, M. Bodnarash.
- January 7—Nine hundred officers purged from the Bulgarian Army.
- February 25—The Communist *coup d'etat* in Czechoslovakia.
- February 27—The new Cabinet in Prague with M. Gottwald, a Communist, as Prime Minister.
- March 10—The suicide of Jan Masaryk, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia.
- March 20—The fusion of the Hungarian Social Democratic party with the Communists.
- May 1—Assassination of Greek Minister for Justice by a member of the Communist terrorist organisation Opla.
- May 5—The elimination of all influential non-Communists from the electoral register in the Yugoslav zone of free territory of Trieste.

#### *East European Pacts*

In the last six months pacts of friendship, collaboration, and mutual aid were signed between all the States in Eastern Europe which came under Cominform influence: the last strand in the network of defensive treaties in Eastern Europe was the Soviet-Rumanian agreement of 4 February, 1948.

It seems that the next main aim of the Cominform is to put Greece and Germany under Communist control. The new Balkan Federation under Marshal Tito (with the headquarters of the Cominform at Belgrade) has become the outer bastion of the Soviet defence system, but one thing is still necessary to make it safe. Greece must be forced within the fold. If only Greece could be brought under Cominform control—it is the task of General Markos—the whole position in the Eastern Mediterranean would be changed and Turkey would be encircled. On the other hand, so long as Greece remains independent Moscow feels that she is exposed. It is this double motive, part offensive, part defensive, which complicates so dangerously the Greek problem.

## FROM COMINTERN TO COMINFORM

### *Ilja Ehrenburg Calls on the Peoples of Europe*

The Communist plan for World Revolution, the fight against "Capitalistic Exploitation", now called "Western Imperialism", has not been abandoned or "betrayed"; it has become the main aim of Soviet Russia.

Ilja Ehrenburg, a very able Soviet-Russian journalist and writer, who is the mouthpiece of Moscow Radio propaganda, called on the peoples of Europe to seek the protection of a great power. Dr. Goebbels' voice has been replaced by the voice of Ilja Ehrenburg.\*

A campaign is once again being started against "encirclement", this time not by Germany, which, to quote General Smuts, will be dead for the next hundred years, but against the "encirclement" of Soviet Russia by Western Capitalist States. The totalitarian policy in its second edition has started and the anxious peoples of Western Europe, who have not yet been bolshevised, are joining together in a Western Union.

"A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism"—this is the first sentence of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party", issued a hundred years ago, in 1848, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. In the last thirty years the greater part of the European Continent became the victim of the "spectre of Communism". To-day, before it is too late, it is our duty to think and to work for saving the rest of Catholic Europe from "the spectre of Communism".

Western Europe's best instrument in the fight against the Marxian ideology is not a military pact of the Western nations, but a revived Christendom.

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\* The Marshall Plan, which the Communists describe as making European countries American vassals, had been attacked by the Communists. Their version has given a theme to Ehrenburg, who has produced a play in which an American millionaire settles in a French town which has a mayor and town council of ex-Vichyites. He wants to remove a stone lion, an historical treasure, to America. The subservient council, which has renamed a street after him, is only too ready to oblige. But the people of the town, hearing of the project, burst into the council chamber, beat up the treacherous rulers, saying that they prefer their liberty to American food, American coal, and American charity. This play shows how the Communists hope to destroy the Plan of the Reconstruction of Europe.

# SCIENCE AND VISION

By BRENDAN LAWLER, S.J.

## II

In his Preface to *The Fourfold Vision—A Study of the Relations of Science and Religion*—Dr. Sherwood Taylor indicates that he is writing primarily for teachers and students of science. “The intention of this book is to suggest that the knowledge and methods of science are not contrary to religion, but may indeed contribute thereto. I have endeavoured, therefore, to express myself in the language of science and have not scrupled to neglect, in large measure, those metaphysical arguments which, conclusive as they are to the philosopher or theologian, are unfamiliar and indeed unintelligible to those who are accustomed to no other data and methods than those of modern science.” At the outset he states what science is. As he describes its characteristics he is careful to point out some fundamental limitations of science, almost as though they had escaped his own attention during his student days, and might well remain hidden to those who have lived for years in the scientific atmosphere of thought. The very purpose and procedure of science, the discovery of physical explanations by dealing with the measurable aspects of nature, require a selection of material and a mode of consideration in which many immeasurable attributes of things, such as beauty, can find no place. The very starting-point of science, observations, can raise questions about consciousness that science cannot answer. The care and study necessary for the advancement of science—the impersonal reading of pointers on their scales, the formulation and application of scientific laws, may be so absorbing that the scientist never asks himself whether the laws of science are more than descriptions of past experience, never gives himself pause by allowing himself to wonder where the order in what he calls Nature comes from. Those camp-followers who dream of the great beneficial progress that science has in store for us, who think of science as a series of inventions and applications that are profoundly affecting human life, need to be reminded of limitations too: can science make men better or worse? does science provide the desires, the motives, the ambitions that guide man’s use of the power that science gives? Dr. Taylor goes on, then, to say what religion is.

And in doing so, he finds it convenient to confine his attention to religion at its truest and best, the Christian religion as it is professed in the Catholic Church. He points out that the religious man is free to study or to disregard science, because it is not in itself either religious or anti-religious and so has no bearing on man's turning to God. "Consider," he writes, "the mind of a man without religion in the act of turning to God". Then, referring expressly to his own experience, he describes what might be any indifferent scientist's course of thought and path of prayer that lead to the change of heart and the new conviction: "Too late have I known Thee . . ." The cry of St. Augustine seems to echo through the background of these few fine pages in which religion makes a fresh appearance before the audience of agnostic minds.

Two substantial chapters now give us an insight into two great sources of error: scientific law as being apparently opposed to miraculous events, and materialism as being apparently the "scientific" alternative to religious creeds. He does not set out to prove that any particular miracles have occurred; he considers rather how prejudice arises out of a misunderstanding of the character of scientific laws. Thus a nineteenth century chemist might have based his denial of the change of water into wine on the testimony of science that chemical elements cannot be transmuted into one another; yet in so doing he would merely have been typical of all those who disregard the provisional character of all laws of science, for in this age of radioactivity and atomic energy scientists can hardly keep account of the number of elements that have been proved capable of various transmutations. The "laws of nature" as discovered and formulated by science are subject to continual modification. To look to science for knowledge of what is possible and what is impossible, with or without a miracle, is to overlook the fact that the laws of nature, as discovered and formulated by science, are subject to continual modification. A mind too rigidly set against admitting facts that science cannot explain will also—not logically, but in fact—categorically deny miraculous events. But this is only one point among many; even apart from the question of miracles the whole account of scientific law is so masterly and so clear that it could be read with profit by any scientist, philosopher or man-in-the-street. The same admirable clarity is found in the author's description of materialism. He gathers its tenets together in a series of statements each of which might have been quoted from one or

another of those various writers who regard natural science as the only method of investigation that can yield reliable results. "All that is observable, when its investigation has been pushed to the furthest limits, will prove to be expressible in terms of mass, length and time (i.e., of matter and energy). . . . Man is a phenomenon differing only by his complexity from simple biological phenomena, which differ from the inorganic only by their complexity and order. . . . Man has no free will, no absolute ethical or moral laws, . . . etc." The summary of such opinions presents the reader with a theory of the world, a materialistic philosophy, which hardly seems worth refuting, since no one could accept it entirely and exclusively as the foundation of his life. But Dr. Taylor remarks that the majority of men do not achieve a consistency of outlook on things; there are many who manage to hold together in their minds a residue of the Christian traditions in which they were educated, habits of thought based on impulses of their higher natures and also sufficient of these materialistic tenets to serve as an opium against the real claims of religion. It is these he has in mind. Without considering the great variety of muddled mentalities in which materialism is only one constituent, he concentrates upon the fallacy that materialism is proved or even supported by the finding of science correctly applied. He distinguishes "the sound kernel of materialistic doctrine" from its "fundamental and glaring error", and he tries to give a nobler and truer idea of religion than that which might be entertained by a mind steeped in scientific knowledge of material things.

The rest of *The Fourfold Vision* follows one main line of thought: that science can neither prove nor disprove the existence of God; that some of the arguments that lead towards a knowledge of God are suitable for scientific minds; that there are three other ways of apprehending the world besides science, and that only the cultivation of all four together would yield true wisdom. The first of these propositions is shown to follow from the very nature of science as it has been elucidated in the earlier chapters of the book; for science proceeds by means of an arbitrary selection and two unproven assumptions to build up a knowledge of the universe in which not even the appreciation of beauty, harmony and purpose has a rightful place, much less a realisation of spiritual values or divine attributes. Dr. Taylor quietly and reasonably invites the scientist to set about seeking for a knowledge of God by various ways, which run along close to the

great highway of scientific method, but diverge from it into a new territory bordering on faith. He proposes an argument for the existence of the First Cause, a kind of meditation on the mere existence of matter, in such a way as to stimulate the mind's power of insight without forcing it to master philosophical terminology. He suggests a little cogitation about the beginning of the universe a finite number of years ago—Professor Whittaker's favourite argument for the existence of a Creator—and he disposes of those imaginative prejudices that have troubled many minds ever since Copernicus decided that man is not the centre round which the universe revolves. The force of these chapters could easily be missed by a scholastic reader who has grown accustomed to the downright affirmations and denials of syllogistic disputations; it should be appreciated, however, by the reader for whom it is intended, the man whose mind has for many years been preoccupied by the scientific mode of thought. In the final chapter the reader will find the source and meaning of the title of the book; and when he lays it down he will at least confess that this brief study is characterised by masterly clarity and earnest sincerity.

A brief study meriting a lengthy review? Yes, this book heralds the arrival of a new writer with special qualifications in an old field of literature, qualifications of knowledge as well as of style. Manifest testimony to Dr. Sherwood Taylor's knowledge of science can be had from his cyclopaedic *World of Science*, from a list of his former works—*Inorganic and Theoretical Chemistry*, *Organic Chemistry*, *Shorter Organic Chemistry*, *Simple Research Problems in Chemistry*, *A Century of Science*, *A Short History of Science*, *General Science for Schools* and *Science Past and Present*—and from his appointment as Curator of the Museum of the History of Science at Oxford. With this knowledge he combines a habit of clear thinking and methodical procedure. Add to these his apostolic sense, by which I mean his conviction that he has an important message to give, a lesson to teach, which those who have ears to hear will be thankful to receive. Add his sincere charity, which urges him to share his own valuable experience with others, and we find our attention drawn to a quality in his writing that is finer and better than a pedantic cultivation of style. His words give a sense of personal contact and arouse our sympathy with his viewpoint, for we know that it is based on his personal experience.

We might well indulge for the moment in a little reflexive compari-

son which easily suggests itself, using the book itself to illustrate its thesis. This book could have a place assigned to it on some particular shelf in some small library according to the taste of the librarian, or it could be given a serial number under such a heading as "books on science and religion" in some internationally accepted system of classification. Its anatomy and physiology could be considered as comprising so many sentences arranged in paragraphs, sections and chapters, or alternatively from the point of view of figures of speech, vocabulary, technical terms, syntax and grammar, or just as so many words with so many letters per work, or even as so many pages which are ultimately only paper and print. Paper and print, is that all? (Matter and energy, is that all?) Laws and conventions have been observed in its making: a new page to commence a new chapter; number references to give the sources of the quotations; the series of letters denoting the once separate fascicles; notification that it has been "produced in complete conformity with the authorised economy standards"; etc. Just as biologists, astronomers and geologists apply their various canons of classification to natural objects, and as chemists and physicists carry out their different kinds of analysis till they can pronounce on the ultimate constituents of things, so too this book can be classified according to size and format, or subject-matter and treatment, and it can be submitted to many different kinds of scrutiny. The prospective purchaser, indeed, will surely give it a fourfold gaze, seeing it briefly from the point of view of printer, binder and bookseller and then with the reader's eye. Just as the commercial statistics of pulp and ink production might be known to one who is a booklover, a student or a literary critic, so too a scientific knowledge of the universe might be held in the mind that can also raise itself from the consideration of the visible things that God has made to an insight into things invisible. Without ever denying that this book is in a true sense no more than print and paper (which will one day be converted into water-vapour and carbon dioxide), it is as readers that we appreciate its purpose and its worth and reap the benefit of its author's patient thoughts. And we are led to look for more works from his pen.

Yet even while we tell ourselves that we appreciate its purpose we may well begin to wonder whether such a book as *The Fourfold Vision* supplies a real need. We have all acquired some knowledge of science and we have not found this knowledge upsetting our religious

convictions. Science finds its niche in our minds leaving our religious knowledge in its rightful place, so that no conflict ensues: here in Ireland that is common experience. But we must not forget that the vast majority of our books are imported from England and America. And among these one finds scientific studies and essays written by men whose religious training must have been very meagre indeed; textbooks too, composed by well-known experts whose preoccupation with the scientific line of thought has made them impervious to religious truth and open to religious prejudice and falsehood. Undergraduates in the faculties of medicine and science have to have recourse to many works of this kind simply because they are excellent in their own sphere; and interested students in the course of their reading will dip into dozens of books that have no marked scientific excellence but in which the anti-religious bias may be all the more pronounced. The man-in-the-bookshop picks up cheaper stuff calculated to persuade him that the whole world of religion, politics and economics, virtues, vices and social obligations, art and invention, work and play and even thought itself is to be rightly judged and truly understood only in the light of Pavlov's discovery of conditioned reflexes, or of Freud's supposedly "scientific" psychology, or of someone's statistical calculations about the behaviour of atoms, protons and electrons. Both in the popular summaries and in the introductory chapters of some manuals one finds historical passages which portray either the Church as a religious authority or religion in any form as the natural enemy of science. Those whose professional training or personal taste leads them to read much of this do really need a corrective, a reasonable and convincing corrective such as Dr. Sherwood Taylor provides.

Quite recently I came across a book called *The Discovery of Man* by Stanley Casson. It is a short, vivid, historical sketch of the twin sciences of Archaeology and Anthropology. It gives much information, gives it too in such a way as to rouse the reader's eagerness for more, and it conveys something of the author's enthusiasm for his chosen line of study. But it shows that the author must be accustomed to taking a very onesided view of human history, for he seems to judge everything by this one criterion: whatever has aided the growth of Archaeology and Anthropology is worthy of all praise; whatever has hindered or hampered them is deserving of blame—and religion emerges as the arch-villain of the piece. Now, this is a bit silly; but persistent drops of silliness leave an impression. Moreover,

Mr. Casson lets his readers know that he does not regard man as essentially different from the animals, and, incidentally, he scoffs at belief in free will. He implies that he does not want to think of man as religious at all, though man considered as a member of the animal kingdom has the obvious distinction of being the only religious animal and most of the evidence of archaeology owes its existence to this fact. He is addicted to "single vision" and Darwin's sleep (does he ever dream of explaining the rise of the Egyptian and Sumerian cultures by the mere survival of those whose brothers and sisters could not manage to live beyond childhood?): he and his uncritical readers certainly have need of a guide towards a more manifold vision, need, too, of a rediscovery of man.

Take another example: *Science and Religion* is the title of a pamphlet written by Marcel Cachin, the editor of *L'Humanité*, translated into English, published in New York and republished in Sydney. In this pamphlet science finds itself allied with materialism, reason and Communism against religion, idealism, "the mystics" and the ruling classes. The rule of the game seems to be that any member or combination of members of the former team may be used indiscriminately to overcome any efforts made by any part of the latter team. Consider a few of M. Cachin's statements: "Materialism declares that the world is material. . . . Matter and its energy are eternal; they change into one another. . . . The law of the conservation of energy was valid in nature before there were men who discovered it." Then: "Sensation is produced in the brain. It is a reflection of matter. . . . Thought forms part of the material world from which it emerges." Again: "Since Aristotle, the principle of contradiction has dominated the reasoning of philosophers: 'A thing,' they said, 'cannot at the same time be and not be.' But it can!" Further: "The idealists and religious-minded are the ones who limit spirit, they diminish it by trampling on human reason. . . . Materialists, on the other hand, have confidence in the progress of science, product of oft-derided reason. We are therefore justified in asserting that it is idealism, not materialism, that injures spirit." This is sheer propaganda poured forth without any real regard for either truth or reason. Any reader who would swallow the extraordinary *mélange* contained in this pamphlet would be too stupid to appreciate the reasoned procedure of *The Fourfold Vision*. Dr. Taylor has written a pamphlet based on his own careful historical research: *The Attitude of the Church to Science* (C.T.S.,

London), which gives the lie to M. Cachin's opening sentence: "Religions have always been opposed to the bold flights of philosophers and men of science." But a whole shelf-full of pamphlets would not be sufficient to deal adequately with the full flood of errors sweeping on from that opening to this conclusion: "Communism is not only essential for the progress of human civilization. It is also a demand of reason enlightened by modern science."

Since I began to write this article two of Dr. Sherwood Taylor's recent publications have come to my notice. One, entitled *The Scientific World-Outlook*, is the first of a special series of articles on Contemporary World-Outlooks which began to appear in *Philosophy* in November 1947. It is significant that leading British philosophers have selected Dr. Taylor as the fitting exponent of the kind of philosophy that is most easily adopted by scientists. He is careful to point out that the philosophical judgments constituting the "world-view" do not follow from the experimental evidence on which strictly scientific theory is based. The other is a book, *Two Ways of Life—Christian and Materialist*, which develops the theme of *The Fourfold Vision*. It answers the two questions that can be asked about a philosophy of life: is it true? and, is it useful? or otherwise expressed: what are its tenets? and, how does a man's life shape itself when it is based on these tenets? Its Preface shows that it has been written by a scientist for his colleagues: "The scientist starts from observations and by reasoning, based on these and certain assumptions concerning the nature of things in general, constructs a scientific theory. . . . In practice the truth of a scientific theory is tested not so much by scrutinizing the manner in which it was derived, as by testing its usefulness in explaining natural phenomena and enabling men to predict and control them. It is obvious that the same method is applicable to schemes of doctrine and to all manner of philosophies of life, and this book is an attempt to apply it to the two philosophies of the present day, Christianity and materialism." So the bulk of the slender volume is devoted to answering the second question, that is the more practical aspect of these two ways of life. It makes very fine reading; it ought to be available beside its predecessor in every student's library.

At a Summer Congress held at Edinburgh in 1943 Dr. Taylor read a paper on "The Church and Science", which was later published as an article in *The Month* (March-April 1944). Here is its opening

paragraph: "The last occasion on which I visited this country was seven years ago, when I travelled to Glasgow in order to give a lecture on *Galileo and the Freedom of Thought* to the Rationalist Press Association. I was not an expert on Galileo, and I got up the subject for the occasion. When I came to go further into the matter and to consult such original records as have survived, I found to my surprise that most of the Protestant and Rationalist accounts were full of misstatements which could hardly be less than intentional, and that the Catholic accounts, if not entirely uncoloured, were far more accurate. Moreover, it seemed to me, as it seemed to T. H. Huxley when he read up the same subject, that "the Pope and the cardinals had on the whole the best of it". So interested did I become, that I wrote a book which, now as a Catholic, I would wish to modify only in very trifling respects, and which the Rationalist Press, with scrupulous fairness, consented to publish, though it was not what they might have expected and very little to the taste of their die-hard readers. But, unlike Huxley, I did not remain in my former opinions, for the small insight I gained into the operations and the doctrines of the Church led by a seven years' progression to the step I took some eighteen months ago. It is not my purpose to relate my personal history, nor, as I might, to point out the singular providence of God who used the Rationalist Press Association as an agent for my conversion; but rather to point out the disservice which the anti-Catholic factions did themselves by telling lies or suppressing truth about matters of history. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander; and the moral of my tale is that we shall do our cause a great deal of harm if we falsify, suppress, or refuse to discuss, any matters that appear to raise difficulties between the Church and the man of science. If the latter has one special virtue, it is a strong regard for truth—a lover's regard, for although he has the greatest esteem for it, he often fails to discern its character." Truth is Dr. Taylor's guide and companion. Whether he is writing on some historical question or whether he is treating of that subject on which he has come to be regarded as an authority—materialism, its source and implications—he shows in every line his own scrupulous concern for truth; while here and there between the lines he only half conceals his wish to share his blessing of conversion with others. No doubt he feels very much for those of his fellow-scientists who have been caught in the rut of a materialistic philosophy of life and are being led only further into the darkness of unbelief.

# THE EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN BACKGROUND OF O'CONNELL'S NATIONALISM

## V.—THE IRISH PARLIAMENTARY REFORM MOVEMENT

By R. DUDLEY EDWARDS

**B**EFORE indicating precisely the manner in which Ireland was affected by the English reform movement of 1779-80 a few words must be said concerning the Catholic relief measures down to the year 1782. Reference has already been made to the changes in thought in the eighteenth century which made possible the relaxation and mitigation of the penal laws [IRISH MONTHLY, November 1947, pp. 470-1]. In the year 1771 an act was passed giving to Catholics the extremely limited concession of taking a lease, not exceeding thirty-one years, of waste or bog land for reclamation (11 & 12 George III, c. 21). Three years later the first step was taken towards a drastic modification of the anti-Catholic laws. An act was passed containing an oath of allegiance to the crown which any Catholic could take but which implied a renunciation of allegiance to the house of Stuart and of the theory that faith need not be kept with heretics. The subscriber declared that he did not believe that the pope had "any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence directly or indirectly" within Ireland (13 & 14 George III, c. 25). While no Catholic gained any immediate relief by taking this oath, the subsequent concessions of 1778, 1782 and later years were available only to those who took it.

Four years later, in 1778, there was passed the first great relief act, which permitted Catholics to inherit property like protestants. They might also acquire from protestants a leasehold interest for 999 years (17 & 18 George III, c. 49). Of this act it may be said that it was hardly sought for by the colonial element influenced by the American struggle for legislative independence. But when the government responded to a Catholic petition for relief by sanctioning the introduction of this measure, the "patriots" could not logically oppose it. To Edmund Burke, viewing the situation from a distance, the significance of this act was more apparent. Writing to Pery, speaker of the Irish house of commons, on 12 August 1778 he said:—

You are now beginning to have a country, and . . . I am persuaded that when that thing called a country is once formed in Ireland, quite other things will be done than were done whilst the zeal of men was turned to the safety of a party, and whilst they thought its interests provided for in the distress and destruction of everything else. (*Lecky, Ireland*, ii. 217.)

The next instalment of relief came with the measures for legislative independence in 1782. By these acts (21 & 22 George III, c. 24 and c. 22) practically all the laws prohibiting the celebration of Catholic religious worship and the presence in Ireland of Catholic ecclesiastics were rescinded (for such, of course, as were prepared to take the oath of allegiance of 1774). Henceforth loyal Catholics were permitted to be educated by loyal Catholic schoolmasters, and loyal Catholics might acquire freehold property from protestants. The legislators, however, were extremely careful that the concessions should not go beyond a toleration for Catholicism and a single property law for protestants and loyal Catholics. No Catholic might yet exercise the franchise, nor even acquire property in a parliamentary borough. The pre-eminence of the established church was vindicated by prohibiting the public exercise of Catholic religious services or of any external manifestations of a Catholic ecclesiastical system. In the realm of politics not merely was the Catholic excluded from the narrow landed group which monopolised power, but he was denied the civil right, for which America had revolted from England, to elect representatives to the legislature which taxed him. Within a short time circumstances were to convince the agitators for parliamentary reform that the success of their movement was impossible without conceding political rights to Catholics.

It has already been seen that, unlike America, the legislative independence movement in Ireland had proved successful without there being any necessity to conciliate radical opinion on parliamentary reform. Nevertheless the activities in England of the Yorkshire Association and kindred bodies were followed keenly in Ireland in 1779 and 1780. From the fact that, on 28 December 1781, a resolution of the Armagh volunteers attacked corruption and court influence in the Irish legislature (Rogers, *The Irish Volunteers and Catholic Emancipation*, p. 55), it may be inferred that the English reform movement had communicated itself to Ireland. But when, four months later, the government of Lord North collapsed, the tide of

court influence in Ireland was turned in favour of concessions, and for the moment nothing further is heard of parliamentary reform.

After the first flush of triumph with the parliamentary concessions of 1782 it gradually became apparent to a great number of the protestant men of property in the volunteer movement that they were still excluded from any share in political power. A few great landlords held the majority of seats in the house of commons. Since the volunteers had proved the crucial element in securing free trade and legislative independence it was but logical that they should again organise to effect that necessary reform of parliament without which even the men of property would not be sufficiently represented in the legislature.

Accordingly on 1 March 1783 a meeting of the volunteers of Munster unanimously adopted a resolution in favour of an altered system of representation (Rogers, op. cib., p. 89). But it was the Ulster volunteers who really pushed the matter forward, and on 19 July 1783 a committee of correspondence at Belfast, under Lieutenant-Colonel William Sharman, circularised the leading English reformers, seeking their advice in drafting reform proposals (Plowden, *Historical review of the state of Ireland*, ii. 33-6). The queries submitted to the English reformers sought particular information as to the best method of dealing with excessive aristocratic influence, depopulated parliamentary boroughs, enlargement of the franchise and restriction of the duration of parliaments. Replies were received, among others, from Cartwright, Lord Effingham, Jebb, Northcote, Price, the duke of Richmond, and Wyvill (*Collection of letters addressed to the volunteers on parliamentary reform*. London, 1783). Many of the English reformers, while disclaiming particular knowledge of the Irish situation, urged the necessity of careful consideration for the claims of Catholics, basing their views on the ground that only by securing a free and equal representation of all tax-payers in parliament could a legislature be regarded as properly constituted by a nation.

The opinions of the English reformers were duly reported to a meeting of volunteer corps for the province of Ulster at Dungannon, held on September 8. By this time it was apparent that many of the more conservative spirits in the movement were extremely reluctant to push forward the reform question and, according to Lord Charlemont, a number of moderates secured their own nomination to the national convention, to be held in Dublin on November 10, in order to act as a brake on the radicals. The Dungannon meeting, however,

was careful to avoid any decision on advocating the franchise for Catholics, beyond empowering the national convention to prepare a plan of representation in proportion to the number of protestant and Catholic inhabitants of the counties and boroughs, and sanctioning the concession of the suffrage "to such a description of Roman Catholics as the National Convention may deem proper objects for that great trust" (Rogers, pp. 97-8).

On October 9 and 10 the Leinster volunteers met in Dublin and discussed the resolutions to be sent forward to the national convention. From what we know of the discussions it is clear that the majority of the representatives of the Leinster provincial corps were opposed to any concessions to Catholics. At least one corps resolved:

That to allow Roman Catholics of any description to vote at elections would be a dangerous infringement of the Constitution. (Rogers, p. 101.)

In the absence of specific instructions from a great many corps the Leinster meeting resolved to make no recommendations to the national convention on the Catholic question.

On 10 November 1783 the national convention of volunteers assembled in the Rotunda, Dublin. The English reformers were anxiously watching the movement in Ireland. Their own movement, in 1779-80, had been skilfully side-tracked by the whigs. Their hopes that a grand national convention of the English counties would bring about a truly representative system, possibly even by displacing the unreformed English commons in a new legislature, had been unfulfilled. The whig programme of economic reform had been successfully steered through parliament, and public interest in the popular movement had flagged, and when, in the April of 1783, their old enemy, Lord North, had combined with Fox in a coalition government, they had realised that their chances of success were now remote. All the more enthusiastically, therefore, they had advised the Belfast committee that parliamentary reform was essentially a matter for the people, that a corrupt legislature would never reform itself, but that if such a representative popular body as the volunteers were to submit the outlines of a scheme of reform they must prove irresistible and that parliament would be content to work out the details.

The meeting of the convention, after a flourishing opening, settled down to planning a reform bill. The leading part in the work was taken by Henry Flood. At an early stage the Catholic question was

raised, but the influence of the Catholic aristocracy was for the moment predominant with the Catholic committee which had secured the passing of the relief act of 1778, and Sir Boyle Roche informed the convention that Lord Kenmare did not desire to press for the political power for the Catholics, with the result that it was decided not to recommend the extension of the franchise to them. (It subsequently emerged that Roche had no authority to speak for Kenmare, though he did interpret his attitude correctly, and the Catholic committee vainly sought to reverse the decision by a majority resolution which effectually ended their domination by the aristocracy.)

The plan as ultimately presented to the commons by Flood proposed the enlargement of the boundaries of depopulated boroughs, and the extension of the franchise to protestant freeholders and leaseholders. Parliament was to be limited in duration to three years, pensioners at pleasure to be excluded, and pensioners for life and place-holders under the crown to seek re-election (*McDowell, Irish public opinion*, p. 101).

Despite the moderation of these proposals the commons refused them a hearing. Taking their stand on their right to refuse to bow to the direction of armed men, and likening the action of the volunteers to Cromwell's overawing of the commonwealth parliament, the members refused leave for the introduction of the measure by an overwhelming majority of two to one. The following day, under the moderating influence of Lord Charlemont, the convention quietly acquiesced in the unexpected reverse and agreed that the delegates should return to their provinces and submit the Flood proposals to the various counties. Tactfully Charlemont avoided the question of whether the volunteers would ever again be in a position to influence such a project through a national convention.

In the March of 1784, in the absence of any volunteer assembly, Flood again introduced his reform proposals in the Irish house of commons and again the measure was defeated. While on the previous occasion the house had allowed itself to be persuaded by the argument against military intimidation, its decision on the second occasion was apparently due to the acceptance of the argument that, prosperity having been brought to the country through the securing of legislative independence, it was unsafe to tamper with the existing constitution in a manner which would interfere with the rights of property. Ironically enough, the absence of any external pressure

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was now interpreted as the absence of any public interest in the project.

The defeat of the volunteer plans for parliamentary reform did, however, have the result of hardening the attitude of the commercial elements in Belfast and Dublin, while moderates like Charlemont thereafter abandoned any attempt at popular agitation, and thereby influenced many of the landed gentry to abandon their interest in parliamentary reform.

Before the end of 1784 a middle-class element in Dublin and Belfast were to hold a congress of reformers which was to prove even less effective than the volunteer convention. It, however, laid the foundation for the subsequent alliance between middle-class protestants and Catholics which, under the influence of the French revolution, was to inaugurate the new movement for parliamentary reform in which the United Irishmen took a leading part. It was this movement which was to make the first attempt to base Irish political liberty on separation from England.

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# SOME RECENT BOOKS

## THE NEW PSALTER

*The Book of Psalms in Latin and English.* Burns Oates and Washbourne. London: 1947. 12/6.

Although the full meaning, and especially the full beauty and pathos, of the Psalms are hidden from one who is unmindful of their historical origins and setting, yet even read as isolated prayers and poems they have ever powerfully affected the human heart. Around the name of David clusters, like a twinkling constellation of stars round the moon, a number of names, now shining fixedly and bright for an instant, now almost lost as they fade away. Samuel, though he does not figure in the Psalms, Saul who certainly does; Jonathan whose influence pervades them as a subtle perfume; Abner and Nathan; Bethshebee and Urias; Absalom and his sister Tamar; Achitophel and Joab; and at the end Abisag and Adonias: all these, names of such incidents and passions and tragedies and sweet memories, were in David's soul as he composed his Psalms. No wonder they express as perhaps never before the varied emotions of man before his God: love and sorrow, fear and joy, hope and despair.

This little edition, published by Burns Oates and Washbourne at a very high price, gives us the new Latin translation and Monsignor Knox's beautiful Englishing of it. We miss, half-regretfully, some of the familiar rhythms and cadences of the old Vulgate version which one has grown to love from accidental association or personal message found over the years in them. But even at a first reading, the new Latin establishes itself as something that is almost a stroke of genius: and when the lips and ear have become accustomed to its phrases, one would not go back to the obscurities of the Vulgate for all its patina of old associations. Whether Monsignor Knox has allowed himself excessive liberties in his version will probably be discussed for many a day. At the most, it is only in a very few places. Apart from that, the English version is a joy and a delight.

The publishers, being who they are, should know that the new translation was not published by the Pontifical Biblical Commission as they state in their Note. A very different body is responsible for

it, as their jacket writer correctly recounts. Might we grumble a little at the typography, too? The print is too small, though beautiful, and surely even at the cost of increasing the size of the book, the English version would look better and read more easily if set out in "free verse" form like the Latin. Where the red initials are used in the alphabetical psalms, they should be set more correctly in line with the black. About half Psalm cxviii is an eyesore owing to displacement. Is there not a public for a larger size format, better set out, on Indian paper, of this lovely book, lovely in its substance, lovely in its Latin, lovely in its English? But the price, evidently, would be prohibitive.

### MAURICE BARING

*Maurice Baring. A Postscript.* By Laura Lovat. London: Hollis and Carter. 10/6 net.

In due time, no doubt, a full-length life of Maurice Baring will be written; a man of so considerable a literary achievement, of so varied an experience of life and of so interesting a character will find his Boswell. In the meantime Lady Lovat has written this memoir—which she calls a postscript—as a tribute to a friend. Her book is a slender, lovely monument which will be welcomed not merely by the many friends who knew him in the flesh, but by the much greater number of people who only knew him from his books and who yet felt something like affection for him. The book contains her own memoir, a collection of letters which show the breadth of his circle of friends and of his interests; some poems, both humorous and grave, including the fine poem on "The Last Cruise of H.M.S. Tiger"; and two essays, one by Father Ronald Knox on Baring's knowledge of the classics, and a personal estimate by Princess Marthe Bibesco in the form of a letter to Lady Lovat. This brief essay, written in French with rare delicacy and insight, is full of good things about the man and the writer. "*On a dit très justement de Maurice Baring que la vie n'était jamais devenue pour lui une habitude qu'elle était restée un miracle, et ce fut vrai jusqu' à la fin*". How many things in Baring are illuminated by that remark.

Lady Lovat was a close friend of many years. When the war broke out Baring was living at Rottingdean, an invalid suffering from a painful form of paralysis which rendered him helpless and caused him

continuous pain. As the noise of the sirens and the guns caused intolerable anguish to his jangled nervous system, Lady Lovat invited him to live at her house in the lonely part of the Highlands. His visit was to be for a few months, but actually he remained with her "a loved and honoured guest" from August, 1940, until his death on the 14th of December, 1945. His disease was incurable and very painful, and the five years at Eilean Aigas were a long-drawn-out deathbed process. These years of suffering and helplessness were a searching test of all that was best naturally and supernaturally in Maurice Baring.

He kept his interest in life to the end. Music, books, plays, the gramophone, the wireless, the war, his letter, above all his friends, these had filled his life and remained to the end. The children of the house were an unfailing source of joy to him. He would allow no "sick-room égards", no inquiries about his sleep, no expressions of sympathy. For these years he was patient, gay, courageous, unselfish, interested in all that interested his visitors and friends. Among his visitors were his parish priest, Father Geddes, and the Redemptorist Father McGuire, a military chaplain.

A friend said to him: "You have had an inner citadel since your illness began." Maurice Baring had always an inner citadel; and that sense of something hidden behind all his virtues is one of his attractions. From that source came the courage and patience of these years. "But, Maurice, it is a miracle to us all that your inner peace is never disturbed." "How could it be?" he said. He was most reticent about his religion; but these few words which slipped from him give some indication of what the Faith meant to him.

HUGH KELLY

### MOLADH AGUS DI-MHOLADH

*Prós-cheapadóireacht Laidne* i. "Bradley's Arnold," aistrithe ag Mairghréad Ní Éimhthigh, M.A., agus Seán Seártan, B.A. 852 leath. 9/6. O.D.F.R.

Tá aithne agus cliú ar an leabhar Béarla; agus is í is mó bhíos ag fó-chéimíthe na gColáistí Iolscoile i bhfus mar leabhar ceapadóireacht.

Tairbhíodh den eagrán Béarla is déanaí—é siúd leis an Oll. J. F. Mountford. Mar sin tá an Appendix Próis Leanúnaigh a thórmaigh an tOllamh, de rud nua, isteach ina eagrán féin, tá sé annso againn ina chéad go leith leathanach de phrós-phíosaí Gaeilge. Ach thairis sin

cuireann na "h-aistritheoirí" isteach, de rud nua uatha féin, céad leathanach d'fhoclóir leis na cleachtaí; agus a chomh-oiread d'abair-liosta agus é roinntithe ina chuid gach cleachtadh.

Ach go ró-speisialta, bíonn nádúir agus gnás an dá theangan á gcompráid chun a chéile i gcomhnaí in gach caibidil den leabhar. Sin é an áit a raibh gá le máistreacht Gaeilge agus Paídagóige. Is é mo mheas nár theip in aon phointe ortha ann.

Ba mhisneach dóibh an saothar so a ghabháil de láimh, agus is cliú dhóibh mar a chuir siad diobh é.

P. DE HINDEBERG

*Cuairt ar Albain.* Beirt Shiubhlóiri. 113 Ich. 2/-.

An chéad rud a thaithneós leat faoi'n leabhar seo an clúdach—léarscáil na hAlban agus í bán, an fhairrge uaithne ag eascairt fá il-inbheara an chósta mhanntaigh, teideal an leabhair agus na logainmneacha scríofa i ndeirge fola ar mhín-chneas na tíre. An dara rud, na grianghrafnanna soiléire—seacht gcinn—d'aiteacha clúiteacha ar ar tugadh cuairt; agus an tríú rud, an cur-síos taithneamhach ag an mbeirt cailíní Gaelacha seo ar a n-imeachtaí i dtír na loch is na mbeann.

Cínn-lae ar choicíos saoire ó oifigí Bhleá Cliath atá ann, agus is mó go mór is fiú dhá scilling a chaitheamh le bheith ina bhfochair ó Loch Lómainn go Dún Éideann "thar carraig is thar portaigh is thar riasc" ná dhá uair a chloig ar an méid céanna in aon phlúchtán pictiúrlainne. Agus má's duine den treibh lónmhar sin tú—dalta scoile ag lorg sompla d'aiste scrúdúcháin—gheobhaidh tú mian do chroí d'aon cheann acu seo ann: Turas ar Bord Loinge, Lá cois Farraige, Laethe Saoire fá'n dTuaith, etc.

Óaisnéis inmhéánaí déarfainn gur roimh an cogadh deireannach a tugadh an chuairt seo ar Albain. An ar na h-údair nó ar an nGúm atá locht na moille?

COLM Ó RIORDÁIN

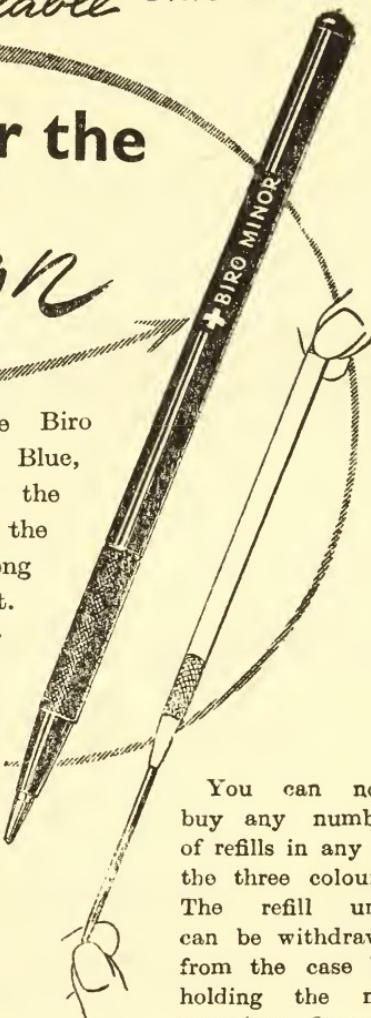
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